

**SECRET EYES ONLY**

17 February 1971

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

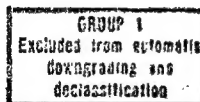
SUBJECT: Youth and Student Problems Forums: 10-11 February 1971

1. The first speaker was Dr. James Cheek, the President of Howard University and a member of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest. He first described the types of unrest found on the U.S. campuses today. These include:

- a. Lawful dissent which is good, healthy and necessary;
- b. Disruption, which although a problem for the university, can be effectively dealt with;
- c. Violence, which is the destruction of property or life; and finally
- d. Terrorism, which is the use of violence to bring about a political end.

Violence and terrorism are not only dangerous to universities, but the country as well.

2. Dr. Cheek went on to describe the causes of the present day student unrest. He stated that students feel frustrated and alienated from society. The war in Indo-China, the pervasiveness of racism, the irrelevancies and anachronisms of the universities are on the minds of the students today. As to the war, the students questioned the system which would keep a war going, but most are unable to say or to state what it is about the system that is wrong. Dr. Cheek stated that the psychologists and psychiatrists point to the emergence of a youth culture comprised of those who have only known peace and prosperity in their lives. In addition, this youth culture is characterized by an ahistoric quality. Thus the

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students have no appreciation for past history and live only for the present and the future. The students are also idealistic and are unconcerned with realities. Finally, the students are romantic almost to the point of being evangelical and feel their lot in life is to redeem the USA and, indeed, the world.

3. Dr. Cheek pointed out that there is a basic difference between white and black students. Black students have an ethnic consciousness not possessed by whites. Dr. Cheek detailed a history of the beginnings of this ethnic consciousness on the part of the blacks. At Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) was founded in 1960. They were "heroes of the South." In 1965 SNCC published the "Nashville Strategy" a paper which evinced a three-year plan calling for the liberation of black universities. This three-year plan would proceed with rioting in the first year, attack in the second year, followed by a consolidation of efforts in the third. To counter SNCC's militant plan, Dr. Cheek proposed an annual Negro Student Forum which was to proceed with the original purposes of SNCC, but with nonviolent methods. In 1967 Dr. Cheek pointed out that there was a change in the black student. At that time, students proposed that Negroes should no longer be called Negroes, but instead blacks. As a corollary the whites, in general, were no good. The blacks, they stated, were not a race but a people. They did not have the Anglo-American traditions of the white U.S. citizens, but Afro-American traditions. Black students today, contrary to the whites, are deeply historical. As proof of this most of them seem to desire black study programs. They are very often existentialistic and have concrete goals. As opposed to whites, most blacks are pragmatic, not romantic.

4. Dr. Cheek described most campus unrest as healthy; a search for humanism and fundamentally a cultural revolution. He stated that he did not believe there was a black generation gap because the majority of goals of the black student were espoused by the older blacks. He further stated that the black radicals wanted a larger slice of the pie, while white radicals wanted a new recipe.

5. In looking into the future Dr. Cheek advanced the theory that the universities must become a battleground. Even though the terrorists are a small minority they are able to do much damage. Their plan is to force repression from the universities, thus precipitating a revolt of the general populace. Dr. Cheek pointed to the faulty reasoning of their theses, but nevertheless recognized their power.

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6. At the conclusion of his presentation Dr. Cheek was asked several very pointed questions from the floor. During the questions Dr. Cheek allowed that the U.S. Government was hypocritical; while espousing nonviolence domestically it was conducting a foreign war rife with violence. He admitted that there was no effective way to deal with violence, but called for more collaboration between the universities and the police as a starter. He stated that he would arrest those engaged in violence at Howard University. He admitted that the first order of business of universities now is survival, not necessarily funding.

7. Dr. Cheek gave us his views on relevance at the university. Relevance is a word, he stated, often misused. He admitted to the irrelevance of much of the U.S. educational system. Dr. Cheek does not believe this problem will go away as the youths presently preoccupied with disorder, disruption and violence leave the universities. The social unrest will still remain and many of the graduates of universities hope to enter noblesse oblige jobs such as the Peace Corps, social work, and the practice of poverty law.

8. The first afternoon presentation was made by the Honorable Stanley B. Thomas, Jr., a Yale University graduate, who is presently the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Youth and Student Affairs at HEW. Succinctly, it is his function to keep his finger on the pulse of the young today and find out what they are doing and saying. He admitted that there were different elements of the youth problem today, both ethnically and chronologically. He pointed to technology as the principal reason for change. Youths today are aware, since very often they may view a soldier killed in action on the television. They often question the values of their elders. In addition, they are questioning American institutions such as the family, the educational system, the political system and the life-styles. He stated that he believes the melting pot thesis is at an end. To replace this thesis, the young wished for ethnic studies and, in general, to know more about their own cultural backgrounds.

9. It was his opinion that Americans today are apathetic about solving problems; that they are uneducated in negotiating change. Thus frustration is rampant and there is a greater unrealized expectation level. He gave as example the failure of the educational process in America today; that the teachers told the story of George Washington chopping down the cherry tree, not how George Washington maneuvered to become President. It is a pity that those in power today keep the knowledge to themselves. It was his thought that the most sophisticated students today are those who have involved themselves in change.

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25X1 10. At the conclusion of his talk a lady assistant from his Office described in more detail the functions of his Office. She described how they try to get American youths involved in the decision-making process not only at the local level throughout the country but also with HEW itself. She stated that Secretary Richardson is most interested in involving youths in this decision-making process. At the conclusion of the formal presentation by Mrs. Jane Lampmann and Mr. Thomas, they answered several questions from the floor.

11. Since the morning of the second day's presentation by [redacted] [redacted] was cancelled due to the illness of the speaker, the first speaker heard on the second day was the Honorable Jerry L. Inman. 25X1 He is the Special Assistant for International Youth, Department of State. Mr. Inman, a former State Department Career Trainee in 1956, stated that the objective of the Department of State vis-a-vis youth is to extend the reach of diplomacy to the emerging leadership of foreign countries. For the purpose of the State Department objective, the definition of a youth is one who represents the potential leadership and political power of foreign countries in the generation succeeding the next generation. The Secretary of State felt that this matter is so important he has sent an "I" dispatch to all his ambassadors and consuls directing that they not only report on youth affairs overseas, but that they also establish contact with the youths. Most embassies now have a youth committee. Those in Japan and Germany are notably good ones, Inman pointed out.

12. The State Department chairs the Interagency Youth Committee which meets once every two months. Recent questions which have come before the committee include the efficacy of the Communist youth organizations overseas. Recently, the committee noted a parochial attitude on the part of the youth groups in Europe and pointed to an example of a recent youth festival in Europe to which the American youth groups were not invited. At any rate Inman pointed out that the problem of foreign youths and their organization is a rather large area of concern, since there are presently 130,000 youths studying in the United States. He mentioned that the State Department only controlled about 5,000 of this number. Inman also stated that he was unsure of just what effect a two or three year stint of studying in the United States had on foreign youths. Very often, he stated, some are quite embarrassed and disgruntled, especially in the case of black students who suffer indignities in the U.S. due to racism.

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13. During the questioning period Mr. Inman pointed out that there was a world-wide anti-American feeling which may be attributed to the American involvement in Vietnam. He also pointed out that there was an international youth subculture and overall feeling of comraderie amongst the youths of the world. American expatriates overseas, Inman declared, were not causing much of an impact on the international youth movement.

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14. The next presentation was a Support panel comprised of [redacted]

[redacted] It was this panel's task to present to the forum the Agency's relationship to the American youths. [redacted] presented a short synopsis of this relationship. He pointed out that CIA is somewhat insulated from the youth and that there is not much contact with the undergraduate students. Most American youths do not know anything about the Agency nor do they seem to care. Besides that, most American students are not oriented towards international affairs; whereas the Agency obviously is. Most of the CIA hires are in their late 20's and are graduate students in international affairs or the like. Most are self-selected and, therefore, usually are well disposed toward the Agency. In addition, the clearance process, often running as long as six months, coupled with the fact that applicants are willing to wait that long, is an indication of their motivation.

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15. In any case the Agency, [redacted] pointed out, has contact with the youths in the recruitment process, the selection/screening process, the placement process and in the follow-up process. As far as recruitment, the Agency is doing well. We have a large number of applicants which has not appreciably diminished through the present time. In addition, we have a good image amongst the graduate students and, although we do not visit the same college campuses as in the past, the Agency still maintains a good image amongst graduate students. (Principally, the Agency has reduced its recruiting drive at the eastern, Ivy League schools.) [redacted] was happy to report that from a total of 77 incidents at universities in 1967, this figure had declined to only 7 incidents in 1970. So far in 1971 there have been no incidents at any universities involving our recruiting personnel. It is significant, [redacted] reported, that the rate of selection of personnel from total applicants for CIA is about the same as it has been throughout the entire Agency history. Placement has, however, become more precise in this day and age of lower personnel ceilings. Follow-up has become better, but, [redacted] pointed out the attitudes of those leaving the Agency have changed. Previously, the statistics ran about three to one for extra-job and personal reasons for leaving the job, whereas at present the statistics are

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three to one for job-related reasons for leaving. As proof that the attitudes of the Agency youths had changed [ ] stated that they are questioning values and authority more. The younger people intensely dislike make-work and bureaucracy in the Agency, both of which they view as on the increase. They are more intolerant; they question the Agency role; the need for secrecy and, in general, otherwise challenge the establishment. They are more self-assertive; seek self-fulfillment; and are intensely loyal to each other. 25X1

16. The Agency has become more flexible, although it has not lowered its standards appreciably. [ ] mentioned that the recruiters are not now turned off by the appearance of prospective candidates with their long hair and bizarre dress. He also pointed out that experimentation with soft drugs is not now a reason for disqualification of an applicant. In addition, he stated that the Agency takes a more helpful and paternalistic attitude toward employees after entrance on duty. He cited the Agency role in helping unwed mothers as proof of this point. 25X1

17. The question period following [ ] presentation unfortunately turned into a complaint session and most of the questions were not concerned with the Agency vis-a-vis American youths outside the Agency, but dealt with problems of those already on duty. As to a question regarding fitness reports and whether or not they could be made more objective, [ ] answered that the problem had been studied from every angle about every 18 months since the Agency had been in existence. He admitted, however, that there was no real solution to the problem. As to a question regarding just what was meant by experimentation in soft drugs, [ ] answered that he considered marijuana a soft drug and experimentation to be three to four times on a social level or during combat. [ ] pointed out that there were 30 people between 1 October 1970 and 31 December who had admitted experimentation with marijuana all of whom were approved for employment. [ ] also stated that the Agency has a tremendous problem with the Agency parents of those children who take drugs. [ ] reported that the Office of Medical Services had reviewed those who admitted they used marijuana on their applications at the rate of about six per month and found that in each and every case they were still suitable for Agency employment. 25X1 25X1 25X1 25X1 25X1 25X1

18. A question was directed to [ ] as to whether the best young people are leaving the Agency because of dissatisfactions. In answer [ ] said that we are not necessarily losing the best people and that those departing represented the broad span of all degrees of proficiency and that the rate of attrition is remaining steady. 25X1 25X1

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19. [ ] currently in ONE, and a former CT out of the program three years, stated that the Agency image was really rotten and, as a matter of fact, worse at the older, more respective institutions. He enjoined the panel to "tell it like it is." [ ] stated that the Agency image was still good amongst the graduate students who were the principal interest of the recruitment effort. [ ] answered a question about whether or not we were improving the Agency image by stating that we really weren't doing anything, but then in an after-thought, admitted that in a small way the summer intern program was directed towards improving the Agency image. One young ex-CT [ ] declared that he was ashamed to tell people he worked at CIA because of the comments certain to be directed towards him afterwards. [ ] did, however, admit that the bureaucracy in the Agency was growing. "An old hand" posed the question as to whether or not the expectations of the Career Trainees were set too high in the program itself, to which [ ] replied in the negative. He stated that it was almost an act of faith for anyone to join the Agency in the first place, since no one outside the Agency could be familiar with the internal workings until they were on board.

20. As to a question of how this Agency recruitment effort was proceeding at black universities, [ ] answered that the blacks are not flocking to the Agency, but that we had active recruitment programs at eight black universities. The lack of professional blacks in the Agency may be explained by noting that after a black has gone through higher education, in most cases, he does not wish to waste it on government employment, but rather prefers to put his talents to use in the black community. He is considered by other blacks to be "somebody" when he is possessed of a higher degree. [ ] admitted that the Agency track record was not good with minorities in general.

21. [ ] answered a question that the Agency had a lot more dissent than is generally known, but that every attempt was being made to quell the dissent and to help those Agency employees in trouble. [ ] stated that the Agency is constantly seeking to solve its internal problems and had recently set up such devices as the Management Advisory Group and that at the Office levels very often groups of young "Turks" had been called in by the Office Heads to assist in solving problems.

22. The final presentation consisted of a panel chaired by [ ] the Special Assistant to the Director and a former member of the DD/P [ ] concerned with students abroad. Other members of the

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panel were [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] This panel, as pointed out by [REDACTED] suffered because of the cancellation of the morning presentation by [REDACTED]. It was their task to answer questions from the floor which might have arisen during the [REDACTED] presentation. Therefore, they each ad-libbed short presentations in which they all confirmed the existence of a world-wide student subculture. For ease of understanding they split the student groups of the world into those of the Soviet Union and Communist camps; those in the developing countries and; those in the developed nations. It was pointed out that those students in the Soviet Union and Communist nations were reformists rather than revolutionary; that those in the developing nations were the elite, were impatient and were concerned with upward mobility. Those students in the developed nations were for the most part disillusioned and concerned with a changing values in politics. It was pointed out that ultimately those students in the developed nations may be the true revolutionaries. In addition, it was pointed out that only one percent of the students world-wide are violent. [REDACTED] gave a brief description of the student revolt in France in 1968 and its implications. Succinctly, he pointed out that the number of students and the educational structure in France did not go together and, as a result, in November 1968 France legislated a sweeping reform bill which ultimately placed students on advisory councils. As to a question regarding the student movement in Africa, [REDACTED] stated that their goals were more mundane and in the nature of complaints, principally about living conditions at the universities. He stated that they are looking for their place in the establishment.

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23. My evaluation of the presentations in the order of their appearance is as follows:

- (1) Dr. Cheek's presentation was excellent and timely. He was an articulate and informative speaker.
- (2) Mr. Thomas' presentation was average and nowhere near that of Dr. Cheek's. He may be too young and too close to the problem to be objective.
- (3) Mr. Inman's presentation was less than average and, in giving an apologia, he stated that he had only been on the job at State Department for four months. In addition, he also stated that he was involved with the President's Commission on Youth soon to be held at the White House and, thus, was wearing two hats.

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- (4) The Support Panel was not as good as I would have hoped. It seemed to degenerate into a gripe session over internal Agency matters, e.g., the fitness report system and Agency image. From the standpoint of the Support Directorate, however, this panel was the most important and, therefore, I will spend more time on it later.
- (5) Finally, the panel which described the Agency interest in students overseas suffered because of the absence of the first scheduled speaker of the day. See paragraph 22 above.

24. The Support Panel, in general, seemed defensive, irrelevant and all the panel members neatly sidestepped, backed down and often restated their position or qualified their statements to offset unpleasant reactions as if the raw recruits (and, indeed, any important Agency officials present) shouldn't hear unsavory things about the Agency. This doesn't excuse the impertinence of some of the questioners, but on the other hand, I also feel we should "tell it like it is." I must point out that I was not envious of the positions of the panel members on the podium in front of the Career Trainees as well as many "old hands."

25. Overall I bring up the question as to whether a two-day forum for all Agency hands interested was the proper one to get information across to the Career Trainees. The auditorium was never filled (average attendance was 175-250 out of a possible 500). Thus it is I judge that Agency employees must not be too concerned over the problems of youths in America today. At the very best, the Agency employees are not as concerned with the youth problem in general, but are more concerned with particular aspects of the problems which may touch us all eventually. Witness the two-day capacity audience in the auditorium during the drug presentation.

26. I firmly believe there is some intellectual dishonesty in arranging for presentations of this sort at the Agency -- after all we only heard the establishment views. There were no "flower children" or regional chairmen of SDS committees present. (How could we clear them?)

27. The following are my recommendations:

- (1) That the present CT class have another crack at the Support Panel as constituted during the forum to clear up any foul air left over from their presentation. As a matter of fact members of OTR, the panel members,

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as well as questioners from the floor admitted the time was too short during the forum for the proper study of the subject (which turned out to be internal Agency problems).

- (2) You might wish to request memorandums for the record from OTR and the panel members, or instead, hold short interviews with them.
- (3) You might wish to consider the appointment of an Agency "Youth Officer," much as the Agency has an EEO Officer, to keep his finger on the pulse of the Agency youths.

28. I am fairly certain that the matter of the youth forum will become a topic of some importance to the Support Directorate since, among others, I noted that the Inspector General was present at the forum and will probably write a memorandum for the record.

29. As I have kept rather extensive notes and as this memorandum may lack some of the specifics desired by the reader, I will be most happy to answer any questions generated by this memorandum.



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Support Operations Staff/DD/S

Att.

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**SPECIAL BULLETIN**

O F F I C E O F T R A I N I N G

No. 2-71

20 January 1971

To: All Training Officers of the Agency

**YOUTH AND STUDENT PROBLEMS**

The Office of Training is arranging a series of Forums on topics which have become increasingly important in both the domestic and international scenes. The first of these concerns "Youth and Student Problems."

**DATES** 10 and 11 February 1971  
**LOCATION** Headquarters Auditorium  
**FOR** Agency employees interested in this topic  
**DESCRIPTION** Guest speakers and Agency experts on various aspects of the topic will speak at each session, with opportunity for discussion and questions from the floor.

10 Feb

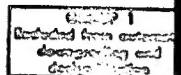
0930 - 1200 "The Roots of Student Dissent"  
Dr. James Cheek  
President of Howard University;  
Member, President's Commission  
on Campus Unrest.

1330 - 1600 Panel: "Current Perceptions of  
Young People"  
Chairman, Hon. Stanley B. Thomas, Jr.  
Deputy Assistant Secretary (Youth  
and Student Affairs), HEW

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**YOUTH AND STUDENT PROBLEMS**

11 Feb

0930 - 1200 "The Politics of Student Violence"



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1300 - 1400 "The Impact of Student Unrest  
Abroad"

Hon. Jerry L. Inman  
Special Assistant for International  
Youth, Department of State

1415 - 1515 Agency Panel: "The Agency and  
American Youth"

1530 - 1630 Agency Panel: "Youth Abroad:  
Effect on Operations and Analysis"

**REGISTRATION**

There is space for 450 in the Auditorium. Personnel are invited to attend all sessions or to select only those in which there is a particular interest. Neither tickets nor training requests are required for attendance.

**ADDITIONAL  
INFORMATION**

Call the School of Intelligence  
and World Affairs 

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